1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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512 241 down his axe and turns to his string bag hanging on a stump for refreshment of betel-nut and a breather.

After the felling of timber there is the burning of it, which is hot work with a vengeance, for the hottest day is regarded as the best opportunity for making a clean sweep of the litter which clearing has left behind it. In none of his gardening operations, however, does the Orokaiva display unnecessary haste. He moves hither and thither, gathering armfuls for the blaze, and gives it a desultory poke or raking with his long stick. Meanwhile, the atmosphere is visibly dancing with the heat, and broad leaves are caught and floated upwards by the ascending currents of air.

512 417 Maybe the work on hand is that of fencing. One or two men are driving the stakes and laying the rails that constitute the primitive fence. Theirs is the skilled work—if so it may be called—while it is for the women folk to maintain the supply of materials. Among these unskilled labourers the unmarried daughters, strapping young women who have discarded their bark-cloth skirts for greater freedom, move through the garden as naked as Eve through Paradise, supposing the mother of mankind to have worn at least an armlet or two or a flower in her hair for ornament. The children—particularly the little girls, who show an earlier disposition for work than do their brothers—bear their small and irresponsible share. The baby, meanwhile, hanging in a knitted string bag from some convenient tree-[854] branch, sleeps undisturbed.

512 482 The housewife has probably pulled some taro and gathered some of the edible leaves with which it is to be seasoned; and now when the morning's work is over she will stow these into her string bag, which has incredible powers of distension, squat beside it to arrange upon the crown of her head the band which serves as handle, and so rise to her feet to plod contentedly homeward. The baby [854] hangs, still sound asleep, in a second bag upon the woman's stooping back, and her husband, shouldering his spear and digging-stick again, leads the way.

512 So in their own time most of the families will have returned by noon to the village. There may be something to

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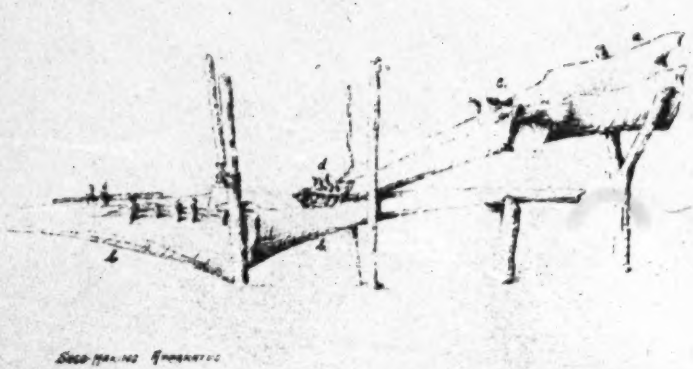

(*a*) *Beo* or Kneading Trough. (*b*) *Ingi Gau* or Settling Troughs. (*c*) *Usisi* or Strainer of Coco-nut Fibre. (*d*) *Kuoro* or Strainer of Coco-nut Leaves.

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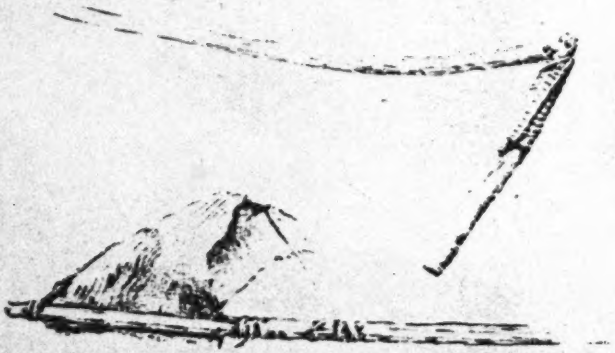

Above, Esai or Sago-scraper; *below, Gopiri* or Water-scoop

PLATE XII

[facing p. 58]

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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dried up, the sago-maker's work, which requires a good supply of water, is not always easy.

The branches or fronds—often armed with the sharpest of thorns—being lopped from the selected tree, the leaves are spread on the swampy ground to make a temporary floor. The broad spathes are peeled off and the tree is felled. Next a section of bark is prised off and the sago-maker, taking his seat astride the trunk, proceeds to use his scraper (*evai*), which is hafted on to a forked branch so as to form a hammer-shaped implement. (The point of the hammer is slightly cupped and hardened in fire.) He accompanies his rhythmical strokes with strange ejaculations and musical cries, *eyeveyeyeyeye, o-dego-o-o-o-o o-deg-o-o-o-o*, and such-like, of which he cannot give any explanation. The pith is transferred from time to time to the trough at which another man is working. The apparatus is shown on Plate XII (*a*).

The kneading trough (*a*) (*beo*) is made of a sago branch, so also are the settling troughs (*b*) (*ingi-gau*) placed end to end and carefully adjusted. The narrow ends of these may be raised or lowered, and any leaks are stopped with leaves. The sago pith is kneaded in (*a*) and constantly watered. The real sago is carried down in suspension by the water, and passing through the two strainers at (*c*) and (*d*) settles in the trough. The first strainer, made of coco-nut fibre, is called *usisi*; the second, merely a bunch of sago leaves, is called *kuoro*. If the trough is too shallow its edges are raised by sago leaflets fastened on as if with clothes-pegs. An ingenious water-scoop (*gopiri*) is made from a sheet of sago spathe. The harder surface is chopped away until only a thin leathery sheet remains. This is doubled and bound into the cleft of a sago midrib, and any leaks are patched with leaves. The supports or props for the troughs are often made of sections of the sago midrib, so that it is interesting to note how the whole apparatus, with the exception of the scraper (*evai*) and the coco-nut-fibre strainer (*usisi*) may be fashioned from the sago palm itself.

The sago soon settles in the settling trough, forming a pulpy mass. When the kneading is finished the water is run off and the mass of sago is pressed and pounded into

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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grief, and its last moments were no doubt rendered fewer and more uncomfortable by the attentions of its relatives.

When the victim of this solicitude is finally dead, he is stretched out on his back. His face is painted and his head decorated with ornaments and a feather head-dress. Some of these will be buried with him; but his children will remove and keep the more valuable. The corpse of a man is entirely naked; that of a woman wears a *bo*.

If the deceased be a man of any importance, his body is laid out on a sloping platform (*bahari*) in the village. It is made of logs set at an angle of about 20 degrees, and the corpse is laid upon it feet downwards and with arms outstretched. This *bahari* is said to be meant for the convenience of the mourners who wish to embrace the corpse.

The posthumous honour of a *bahari* is denied to a woman for a curious reason which I have heard several times repeated. Women are too fond of *binije* or adulterous intercourse, and are therefore undeserving of the dignity of an elevated position. They are laid on a mat on the ground, and the only real regret for them is said to be on the part of those who have enjoyed their favours. And since these latter are ashamed to weep for fear of betraying themselves, the woman goes unwept and unhonoured to her grave. This explanation, needless to say, was derived from male informants, and, in point of fact, the demonstrations of grief at a woman's death are hardly less extravagant than at a man's.

The mourners flock in from all villages in the neighbourhood, pausing on the way to smear themselves with mud, *pusu* (from which they get the name of *pusu-embo* or 'muddy men'). They desert their gardens or whatever work they have in hand at the sound of the *bui*, which repeatedly gives a very long-drawn note as a signal of death. Their attendance is not entirely obligatory, but it is regarded as a matter of decency to attend the funeral of a neighbour: and the relatives of the deceased will be offended if there is not a large muster. It is to be suspected, moreover, that the mourners derive some satisfaction from the very exuberant way they have of showing their grief, and, in the case of the

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(*a*) Hair shaved in Mourning.
Not an usual mode

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(*b*) The *Bahari* or Exposure Platform for the Corpse

PLATE XXVII [Facing p. 212]

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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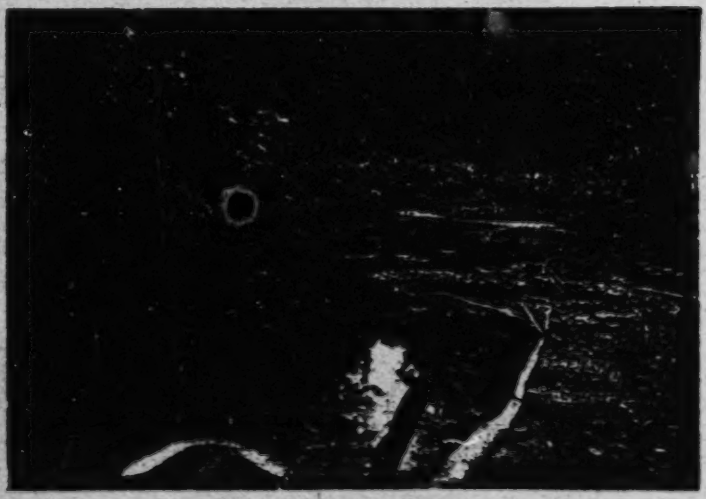
(*a*) A *Haruo* with Ladder for the *Sosai*



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(*b*) The Pool Monoda

PLATE XXXV

[facing p. 272]

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
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538 that she had cut her thumb off. At that she said, 'Now I am a cuscus,' and ever since the animal has been remarkable for the queer little member which so resembles a truncated human thumb.

244 Sometimes dying leaves are snipped off the growing
794 plant. In a ceremony of the new 'Taro cult' a band of
789 excited men were pushing their way through the taro gardens, headed by one or two leaders who continually sprayed the plants with medicine from their mouths, and here and there as they passed snapped off large leaves. The reason for this, as the leaders themselves explained the matter, was that, as with a fully grown taro the outer leaves fall, it would expedite this development to anticipate it, and make the leaves fall now.

244 I do not know of any other kind of trimming or pruning, save sometimes in the interests of tidiness. On the whole garden plants, large and small, are left very much to themselves. Some exception, however, is made in the [249] case of sugar-cane, the long stalks being bound together and supported by poles, lest they fall and so become a prey to rot and rat.

There seem, however, to be few recognized pests in
241 the ordinary sense of the word; the principal enemies
136 of the native horticulturist are not microbes but animals, bats, and birds. He must be constantly on guard against the bush-pig and minor foes—the flying fox, the rat, the wallaby, and the cockatoo, not to mention his fellow man. Formerly, in a kind of native Paradise where work [173] was at a minimum, the bush-pig was content with bush food—roots and herbs and such-like. But exchanging confidences with the rat, he learnt that the latter's food was taro and succulent sugar-cane. After that he invaded the gardens, and it has been necessary ever since to build a fence.

• 417 The garden fence should properly surround the whole
241 group of clan gardens. It is built in sections, each man being responsible for the part nearest his own garden. But the work is rather laborious, and the gardens are

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
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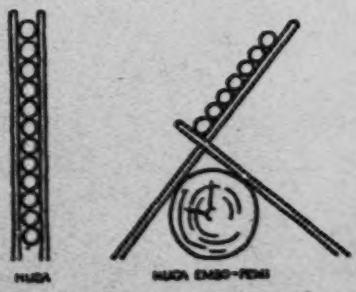
often well advanced before the circle is complete. The actual building of the fence is men's work, though women carry timber. The reason why women do not build is, I am told, that the fence would be no good.[1]

The several varieties of pig-trap have been mentioned before (pp. 113–14). They are commonly built just within the garden fence so that the raiders are not only frustrated but captured. Until the fence is completed some people must live in the garden houses to scare away the pigs with their voices. It is said also that the smell of smoke will make them suspicious and keep them off, and one may sometimes see a large fire piled with green leaves and kindled towards evening. On moonlight nights men will wait with spears on the garden platforms and attack the pig among the taro—a really hazardous undertaking, and one which is responsible for many terrible casualties. Nowadays the villagers will often beseech the loan of one's shot-gun and shooting boy on a moonlight evening.

Some well-advanced gardens become infested with rat-like marsupials. There are miniature traps for them—constructed on the principle of the pig-trap with a falling weight—and another ingenious kind of pitfall, which, like the former, is rather a plaything of little boys than a serious business of the gardener. The pitfall is a round hole with steep or shelving sides; from the edge towards the centre there projects a piece of wood, with what may be called a green-stick fracture; on the tip of this little platform is placed the bait. The rat climbs out

[1] The ordinary fence (*Hage*) consists of a series of horizontal rails laid one atop of the other and between uprights at frequent intervals. There is another kind, *Hage-Embo-pasi* (possibly the 'big man' or 'elder man' fence), where advantage is taken of a large tree-trunk, and the fence made to slope across it. Two cross-sections are shown:



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423 REAL PROPERTY--conception of the subject matter of real property (e.g., as that which produces food, as things that are fixed or immovable); culturally defined categories (e.g., land, trees, growing crops, buildings, water); types of land subject and not subject to property (e.g., sites with monopoly value, waste land); recognized types of title or estate (e.g., eminent domain, fee simple, life, leasehold, sufferance); rights, privileges, and powers involved in each (e.g., usufruct, reversionary claims, privileges of gift and sale, power of expropriation); recognized types of ownership (e.g., individual, collective, public); legal and statistical distribution of types of ownership according to categories of immovables, types of title or tenure, and classes of persons (e.g., exclusion of minors, of women, of slaves); general characteristics of the system of real property (e.g., private property, feudal tenure, collective property with periodic reallotments, communism); land reform; records of ownership (e.g., boundary marks, deeds); registration of titles; etc. See also:

Territories of kin and local groups 81,82
Land use 511
Ownership of productive capital 471
Serfdom 866
Taxation 681

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227 In the more usual method the hook is made of sago thorns or those of the plant called *sinegi* (apparently a kind of palm). The line is first threaded through an earthworm by means of a thin sharp sliver. Then three thorns (about 1 inch long) are bound together by means of the line itself and thrust into the worm so that the points project upwards, and thus

FIG. 12. Worm Bait and Hook.

constitute a hook. Line fishing is done by hand and the bait is allowed to dangle in the water.

226 *Poisoning.* The last, but not the least important, of fishing methods is that of poisoning, which is practised by all tribes in the inland creeks and pools. The poison is usually [278] obtained from the vine *Anisi* (*Kanesi*, *Ainsi*), a variety of derris; though certain other poisonous plants with the native names *Ondoto*, *Pogera*, and *Imanya* are used, as well as the recently introduced chilli. Water is bailed out of the pool or sometimes run off by means of a race or gutter, and when it is sufficiently shallow the root of the *Anisi* is pounded on a log. It exudes a highly poisonous milky fluid which permeates the water and brings the fish stupefied to the surface.

Sago Making

252 Among the River People sago is a never-failing food 262 supply, for on the lower reaches of the rivers large tracts of swamps are, I believe, not even explored by the natives, and their resources are but lightly tapped. Inland, where it [423] is comparatively rare, trees are definitely owned and husbanded. Sago, however, is not a favourite food with the Orokaiva, and it is for the most part when his taro gives out that he resorts to it; and since this is likely to be in the midst of a partial drought, when the swamps themselves may have

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tives by marriage. Save for any untoward happening, therefore, the life of the family will fit into that of the clan.

It is only necessary to stress the point that the immediate family is recognized as a social unit; and the mere fact that a man sometimes quarrels with the members of his clan and migrates with his family or settles somewhere apart, proves that the family interest may compete with that of the clan. Both units are co-operative, the family especially in respect of the food quest, the clan in respect of ceremonies and feasts, and more importantly of fighting. The clan owns the garden land, but the family cultivates its own patch and reaps its own harvest. On the whole, since the clan displays a constant tendency to split into smaller groups of which the family is the nucleus, it is difficult to draw a line between the two. Yet for the same reason we may be right in saying that the family, as the indivisible unit, exerts the stronger hold.

Whatever the difficulty of deciding between these two, however, there can be no doubt that both of them, family and clan, mean more to the individual than does the tribe or the somewhat loose confederacy of clans within the tribe. A man's strongest sympathies certainly lie within the limits of the clan. Quarrels between families, i.e. within the clan, are inevitable, but they are easily adjusted. Not so the quarrels between clans themselves—land disputes and the like—which are prosecuted with great bitterness. Indeed, as sorcery cases show, it is almost invariably the stranger beyond the pale of the clan who is suspected. Any one within the clan is presumably a friend; any one without it is a potential enemy.

There is another kind of group-spirit with which the clan may have to contend, viz. that of locality. Once more the two are not frequently opposed. Often the village is occupied wholly by one clan, and in such a case the conflict could not arise. But when representatives of one clan (A) live in the village of another clan (B) (although the *modus vivendi* is usually satisfactory), there may arise the situation in which the clan (A) as a whole falls out with the clan (B). Witnesses have commonly assured me that a man would stand by his

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Attempts at Standardization

Native morality is for the most part inexplicit; we do not expect to find an established code, and it is mainly by observing conduct and its apparent reaction on the public mind that we arrive at any general principles. But it is worth mentioning the few incipient traces of standardization. The foregoing list of virtues will call to mind the *otobu* ideal, the character of the *otobu-embo*, and the instructions which are given to the youth or girl who receives the emblem (pp. 191, 204, 205). Apart from being urged on to deeds of valour, the recipient was enjoined, with more insistence perhaps, to observe the milder social virtues which would make him an amenable or respectable member of the group. Such versions as I heard of the moral instruction given at the *otobu* ceremony were possibly somewhat abbreviated, but their tone was consistent, and it is fair to say that the *otobu* injunctions are a brief *précis* of social morality, and would thus constitute a standardization, albeit only transmissible by word of mouth.

There is a word *iggo* (Binandele *yego*) which may be translated 'moral law', or perhaps, since the examples are all negative, 'moral prohibition'. The examples were such as the following: not to steal a man's vegetables, canoes, spears, &c.; not to usurp his fishing rights; not to take his dog to hunt, but to drive it back if it followed the hunter of its own accord; not to commit adultery; not to beat one's wife overmuch; not to commit assault on another man. These *iggo* were for adults; they did not apply to children, who had to be treated with so much indulgence; still less to dogs, whose nature it was to steal on sight. While not implying standardization, the mere existence of the word hints at a definite conception of right and wrong.

With respect to property it is worth noting under this head the various tangible protection marks. Whatever their sanctions they have no real value as physical barriers to trespass or appropriation.

(1) The commonest is *papura* or *esa*, the frond of coco-nut palm tied about the butt, which means that no one is to

1: Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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423 201 577 climb for nuts. (2) The *heri* is a strip of bark or a liana tied to uprights and encircling a house or some forbidden ground. (3) A *haribari* is some object, usually leaf or twig, placed in the cleft of a split stick and set up, e.g., at the mouth of a creek as a sign of a fishing right. (4) *Inja* is simply a few handfuls of grass laid across a track to bar the passage. We might include (5) the *naterari* and *pamba* (p. 226), which serve to mark a village tabu on the coconuts, and (6) logically enough the ordinary garden boundary, *tani*, which consists merely of a series of tree-trunks or branches laid on the ground between adjacent plots. These are all regarded quite strictly: no man would step over an *inja* or take a short cut across an area enclosed by a *heri*. Less regular marks which may serve as reminders for some casual rule are observed with equal stringency. For in- [524] stance, I have seen an eight of diamonds wedged in a split stick and set up in a village to forbid the playing of cards; it had been erected by a man of influence who has somehow acquired conscientious scruples regarding the forbidden game. The sanctions for the strict observance of these marks will be discussed presently; the signs themselves are described here merely to show the existence of tangible safeguards, principally, but not always, of the law of property.

Education

861 We have discussed at length the theoretical standard or ideal of morality; but performance naturally falls short of the ideal, and we have now to consider the means by which Orokaiva society seeks to prevent that falling-short. It is not necessary to dwell upon the customary sanction, which is as obvious here as in other primitive societies. Suffice it to say that the almost automatic obedience of the native to the customs of his people and his almost unfailing concurrence in social desires go a long way to account for the law-abidingness which we have seen to be characteristic of the Orokaiva group. Nor is it necessary to treat at length of direct training as a means of ensuring morality, viz. the means of education. Education in the broader sense of the word is as much a means toward morality with natives as

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
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western part of the Division, it cannot be said that sago is anywhere scarce. The mode of preparation is simple and expeditious: it consists in kneading and watering the pith which has been scraped from the trunk, in allowing the sago to be carried off in suspension, and in leaving it to settle in a trough. The apparatus is prepared almost wholly from parts of the sago palm itself, and, except for the scraper and a strainer or sieve of coco-nut fibre, may be extemporized on the spot. The finished product is known as 'wet' sago, being a solid block of which the surface is hardened and glazed by scorching. The natives do not find it necessary to dry the product for their own use, and probably know nothing of the process. In the inland districts where the trees are sometimes individually owned sago is highly prized, and young palms, I am told, may be transplanted. In the large swamps the system is one of clan ownership, and as far as I know there is no sort of culture of the palms.

As a collector the Orokaiva is again an opportunist. Only in time of scarcity, it would appear, does he or his wife go out expressly to gather fern fronds and leaves—the pidgin English 'cabbage'; but wherever he goes he keeps his eye open for food—honey (for which he will fell a tree and smoke out the bees), clusters of somewhat insipid wild figs, nuts, snails, even a nest of flying ants.

He has certain trees, however, which afford a regular supply of food, viz. bread-fruit in several varieties, the *Tauga* nut, and the cycad *Puga*. The bush does not abound in fruit: of the numerous representatives of the genus *Ficus* only a few are edible, none very tempting, and the wild mango is comparatively rare. There are some poisonous fruits and plants, chief among them the creeper called 'New Guinea Dynamite', used by the natives for fishing and suicides. But they have definite opinions as to what may be eaten and what must be left alone, being presumably brought up to this knowledge. I have seen a little child scolded for mouthing a leaf of 'New Guinea Dynamite' growing in the village. Although

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
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241 177 ing than informative. However they may have been acquired, there is a fair range of food products at the disposal of the Orokaiva. The most essential of them have been his since time immemorial; those that he has acquired—either directly or through the agency of the mountain folk—from Europeans serve only to garnish his table. The most important among them are maize—which is a favourite though not grown in great quantity—some varieties of sweet banana, pineapples, and pumpkins. The last mentioned, although grown very commonly, are not really liked: villagers are always anxious to sell them to the white man. An informant once interrupted a conversation to remark that melons, tomatoes, 'pummerkins', and the rest of them, were all humbug; why did not the Government leave the New Guinea men to plant taro, yams, bananas, and sugar-cane, their proper food? It is fortunate that such an extreme view is not often met with; but the Government is prepared to expect a conservative opposition to nearly every new product which it seeks to encourage. It can only be said, very obviously, that, to be spontaneously successful, a new product must, in the primitive condition of native horticulture, be grown with a minimum of effort, and must happen to make an appeal to native taste. Otherwise, as in the case of the new experiment, rice, the work must be compulsory.

4. *The Land System*

423 618 Before we can fully understand the system of using the land, it is necessary to describe the system under which it is owned. Among the Orokaiva there is a multiplicity of small clans, which from time to time increases by subdivision (a process which is in part neutralized by the dying out of older clans). Now the land is owned in reality by the clan. The fact that very commonly the clan is a local unity, being often coincident with the single village, makes this system a simple one in the normal instance. Sometimes, however, the clan is somewhat

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
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scattered, occupying several villages or parts of several villages. In this case the clan will in all probability retain a nominal ownership of all its lands; but in practice it is customary for the various sections to assume by general consent or else by the allocation of a headman, the occupation and usage of particular parts of the land. In due time the section is likely to adopt a distinctive name, and to develop into an independent clan: the right of usage tacitly becomes ownership, and we find the normal condition restored, viz. the clan locally unified and in possession of its own tracts of land. A system exactly similar governs the ownership of the small waterways (useful for fishing) and of the sago swamps.

The Orokaiva clan is virtually a patriarchal group; there is no real chieftainship, but a recognized ascendancy of the old man, provided his vigour of mind and body is equal to his position. As it begins to fail his place is gradually occupied by a younger man. Only in the larger clans, where there are well-defined family groups, does the question of hereditary succession appear, and then it is a somewhat faint appearance.

It is sometimes said that the chief owns the land, though this is hardly more than a form of speech. He does something, however, towards administering it. For instance, he can say which area is to be laid under cultivation at any time, and he can subdivide and allot the territory of the clan among its branches. He feels himself and is felt to be the guardian of the land. Thus we hear an old man telling how his father had given him death-bed injunctions —'Friday he talk, Saturday he die,' as the interpreter put it in order to make clear the testamentary nature of the charge—to allow all his own people to make their gardens on the clan's territory, but to suffer no strangers.

Among the members of the clan there is a very considerable amount of personal freedom, and, except in so far as there may be an allocation of land and fishing rights between branches or families, they may in theory make their gardens where they please. There is occasional

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
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423 618 wrangling as to garden boundaries, but these petty disagreements within the clan, so to speak, are as a rule easily settled. The land disputes which bring endless trouble and labour to the magistrate are disputes between clans. While the land is owned communally the garden is owned individually. Between two adjacent gardens the boundary is made of felled trees, laid end to end, sometimes in two rows so as to form a path between. So long as this ground is under cultivation, not only the produce of the garden but the garden itself is individual property, and a displacement of the boundary would mean a quarrel.

I may now describe the system by which the land is used: it may be called a Rotation of Areas. Each clan will possess a number of tracts of land, which bear locality names. These may or may not be contiguous. Often, owing to migratory habits or to the reclamation of some distant and hitherto unoccupied block of land, they may be somewhat scattered.

A diagram of the areas about Korisata, an Aiga village, though quite inaccurate as to their relative sizes, will serve as illustration. In extent these areas differ greatly, some being measured by acres, some by miles. The boundaries, not obvious to European eyes, are tracks, swamps, creeks, clumps of palms, and so forth. At any one time the village gardens will probably be found in one large clearing, mostly abutting upon one another.

311 241 As the gardeners use up the taro in their old gardens, so from time to time they extend the clearing and plant afresh. Never in the Northern Division, as far as I know, do they immediately plant a second time on the same ground. Thus the gardens gradually extend, or rather progress over a whole 'area', the abandoned parts quickly clothing themselves in a rank luxuriant growth of grass, bushes, and young saplings. When one of the 'areas' has been used up in this manner—and where it is an extensive one this may not be for two or three years—the clan will make a fresh beginning on another

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
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311 241 area; when this is in turn used up, on a third, and so on. By the time all the cultivable areas have been utilized in succession, and a return is made to the first, it is not unlikely that fifteen or twenty years have elapsed. Sometimes, indeed, this intervening period is still longer: I have talked to a man, of say thirty-five years, felling timber along the edge of an existent clearing, at no great distance from the village. He was virtually the headman of his clan and a more than usually reliable informant. He told me that within his time the clan had never before used that particular ground for gardens. His elder brother, however, remembered when the gardens had been there: he was rather decrepit and perhaps fifty.

311 241 618 By way of definitely illustrating this system I may refer to the areas belonging to the Clan Serugahije (which numbers thirteen men, supporting ten women and twenty children). The areas are:

1. Manigausi.
2. Babari.
3. Simbiri Beari.
4. Kimeneda.
5. Ususu.
6. Hasita.

The last to be abandoned was Manigausi, which, when I made a note of it, was already thickly covered with low scrub; all the present gardens were in the area Babari, which was still unexhausted; and the one marked down for the next attack was Simbiri Beari.

621 311 241 One of the larger villages (in which at least two clans were represented) enumerated seventeen areas, ten of which were apparently under virgin forest and used for hunting and fishing alone.

241 423 When the gardener finds himself clearing once more on the familiar ground which was used perhaps many years before, he does not necessarily plant on the precise spot which was his previously. There is, as a rule, so much ground to spare that he is welcome to begin where he pleases, and without the risk of offending a fellow clansman. It does sometimes happen, however, that a man acquires a sort of prescriptive right to the imme-

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
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diate locality where he has worked, and accordingly we sometimes find an easy-going division of an area between families or branches of the clan. No doubt this becomes a stricter division where the available land is circumscribed; for individual ownership of land probably has its origin in scarcity of land.

The examples I have given come from the Aiga tribe, between the middle Opi and Kumusi rivers, where there is no practical limit to cultivable soil, and where, indeed, there still remains a good deal of apparently virgin forest. On the foot-hill country in the south of the Division, where the population is often denser, and in particular on the Buna plains, where the *kurokuro* grass has encroached on the bush to so serious an extent, the same system indeed prevails, but the intervening periods must be shortened.

As will readily be imagined, this system tends to bring about a shifting, almost nomadic, style of horticulture. Sometimes the area is at no small distance from the permanent village. Then we shall find families living for weeks at a time in their garden houses, while their more regular but scarcely superior dwellings in the village stand deserted, with a mat fastened across the doorway. The gardener may plant coco-nuts and betel on the site of his temporary lodging: this is the first step towards the establishment of a new village. By the time that ground comes to be cleared and planted again, these palms will have grown to a good size, and it is very natural, with a people so perpetually given to clan disintegration, that some families should settle permanently on the site of their distant gardens. This, in my opinion, is the ordinary reason for the simultaneous birth of a new village and a new clan.

5. *Clearing and Deforestation*

One was at first tempted to believe that this Rotation of Areas, with such long intervening periods, was devised like the fallow in the interest of fertility. The